What do We Stand for?

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(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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LIMITATIONS OF SATYAGRAHA

[Now that the Pardi Khed agitation has eased itself and has been called off and the imprisoned Satyagrahis are also released by Government, there is time for cool thinking on the matter of the use of Satyagraha at the present time. As readers know, I had raised one or two very vital points regarding the matter in these columns. I may not repeat them here, but be permitted to note my happiness that the chief of them have found corroboration from the two reputed leaders of the P. S. P., viz., Shri Kripalaniji and Shri J. P. Narayan. The former spoke about the matter in his presidential address at the P. S. P. Conference, Allahabad, and the latter, while addressing the Bombay P. S. P. Conference. I reproduce below relevant parts from them. There are a few points in these which require further discussions. I may not go into it here for the present.

28-1-'54 — M. P.]

I

Satyagraha — How and When?

(*By J. B. Kripalani*)

This brings me to the consideration of the weapon of Satyagraha which Gandhiji gave to India and the world. He has given in his various speeches and writings the conditions for the use of this weapon. If we are to handle it to some effect in the political sphere we must keep in view the conditions he prescribed.

I repudiate the view developed by Congress bosses in the Government that Satyagraha can have no place in a democracy. Satyagraha as conceived by Gandhiji was not merely a political weapon. It could be used in the economic and social fields and even against friends and family members. Gandhiji considered it as a principle of life. Therefore, it is absurd to say that it has no place in a democracy, specially of the kind that we now have, bureaucratic and centralized.

Also the governmental power is ever on the increase and the holders of power are not always wise or right. Sometimes partial and party interest weighs with them more than public interest. All questions cannot await the next elections nor can a government be overthrown on the basis of local grievances, which for sections of the people may be questions of life and death. The denial of the right of Satyagraha would mean unresisting submission to tyranny, for long stretches of time.

We may also not forget that Gandhiji claimed that Satyagraha, inasmuch as it was non-violent, was constitutional. However, he cautioned people against making use of it, unless in extreme cases when no other remedy was possible and where waiting would mean disaster.

There is one kind of Satyagraha which, in my view, should almost be avoided and that is fasting unto death. Even when Gandhiji adopted this method in extreme circumstances, every effort was made by his colleagues to induce him to abandon it. The general public too felt very uncomfortable. But let us understand that after all he was an exceptional person who could well be, in certain emergencies, a law unto himself. We ordinary mortals must act under well-defined limitations. I feel that fasting unto death or indefinitely, for the redress of public wrongs, must not be undertaken. Its repercussions on the public emotions may sometimes prove disastrous. Only under very exceptional circumstances it may be undertaken by persons of great moral stature and spiritual awareness, who are in a position to control the violent manifestations of popular emotions and excitement. This has nothing to do with fast for moral purification of individuals. That is their private concern.

In other kinds of Satyagraha, our party has rightly decided that no action be taken without the sanction of the National Executive. This direction, I regret to say, has not been quite followed. Before Satyagraha is undertaken, every effort must be made clearly to put before the people the issue involved. Also all other methods of conciliation must be tried. Not only must the authorities or the parties concerned be approached by local workers but, on their failure, the good services of the members of the Central Executive commanding respect and influence must be utilized. If after this, Satyagraha becomes inevitable, before we undertake the struggle, we must make sure that, if need be, the party can mobilize all its resources for its success. In Satyagraha, as in every popular fight, it is the poor who suffer the most. If the struggle fails for want of sustaining power, the condition of the poor worsens with no compensating advantage. It also adversely affects the prestige of the party. I am of the view that frequent indulgence in Satyagraha on trivial and petty issues is harmful to the party's prestige and blunts a fine and unfailing weapon.

Even though all the conditions I have stated here were not meticulously followed, I congratulate the Satyagrahis at Azamgarh, Pardi and Vindhya Pradesh on the stand they took and the sacrifices and suffering they bore. The causes were just and non-violence was maintained.

II

Communism, Socialism and Satyagraha

(*By J. P. Narayan*)

Both Socialism and Communism are faced with failure. Communism, where it is victorious, has ended up in State capitalism and dictatorship — the very anti-thesis of Communism. Socialism, in Western Europe at any rate, has lost its pristine idealism and become only a parliamentary or legalistic creed. Thus, both the methods of violence and of parliamentary action have failed. Gandhism, to my mind, offers the third alternative — that of revolution by non-violent mass action.

Gandhism does not concentrate on the capture of power, nor depend on the power of State, but it goes direct to the people and helps them to effect the revolution in their lives and consequently revolution in the life of the community. Support from the State power would be assured once the power of the people has been created.

It should be clear that in this manner the Gandhian technique necessarily goes beyond the confines of party and class, because it aims at converting, or revolutionizing if you please, members of all parties and classes. Socialism wishes to advance by setting class against class, Gandhism by cutting across classes. Socialism wishes to destroy classes by making one class victorious over the other — which seems to be somewhat illogical. Gandhism wishes to abolish classes by so bringing the classes together that there are no class distinctions left.

Socialism ultimately aims at creating a casteless society, but it wishes to make the State all-powerful by making the social revolution itself dependent upon State action. Gandhism, too, like Socialism, aims at a Stateless society. But on that account it proceeds more consistently by making the social process as little dependent upon the State as possible. The creation of the Stateless society begins here and now, and is not relegated to a remote and imaginary period in the future. It is therefore a more truly revolutionary process that is more likely to reach the goal than the other processes.

For these reasons I should like to plead here for a closer study and understanding of Gandhism and the Gandhian technique. "Satyagraha", for instance, has become a fashion in Socialist circles. But if Satyagraha has to lead us to the free and equal and good society, and not degenerate into partisan warfare, we must understand it better. It should be realized that *any peaceful action is not Satyagraha.* (Italics mine — Ed.) Satyagraha is based on faith in the possibility of change of heart. A particular Satyagrahi may fail in changing his opponent's heart, but that is not failure of the faith. It is only his personal failure. In this manner *Satyagraha cannot be a partisan or a class struggle.* (Italics mine — Ed.) Its appeal is to all parties and classes. It may not be possible for a Satyagrahi to reach the ideal. But the important thing is that he should understand the ideal and work sincerely towards it.

DRUGS AND DIET

(*By Wilfred Wellock*)

I subscribe to the injunction of Hippocrates: "Let food be your medicine and medicine be your food." After all, physically we are almost 100% what we eat. Hence the approach of far too many doctors to sickness is wrong in that they look for symptoms and prescribe drugs, instead of looking for causes and prescribing a change of dietetic and other habits. Drugs may alleviate suffering and prop an ailing body for years, but they do not cure. It is healthy living that we need, and this is 90% healthy feeding.

Both selection and quantities of foods are important. For over forty years I have lived on two meals a day. This habit gives the stomach a complete rest daily, and thus enables it to derive more nutrition from a given quantity of food. It is thus an all-round economy. I have also discovered the wisdom of limiting the intake of sugar, starch and protein, especially sugar, and of eating freely of fresh fruit, green vegetables and salads, substituting fresh fruit for sweet, starchy puddings. Wholewheat bread is another basic necessity of full health. A sense of physical fitness, of wholeness and self-possession is my unfailing guide to feeding and other habits. No pleasures of the flesh are comparable with that acquisition.

At every level of life from the soil to man it is possible to function within an organic or an inorganic cycle to varying degrees. Most people function in both cycles without realizing it, since so many chemicals are now used in the growing and processing of food, and as medicines. White bread is first robbed of natural minerals and vitamins and then fortified with chemical vitamins, while sweet synthetic concoctions, now so much in vogue, clog and debilitate the blood stream and drive their victims to the drug chest.

Some years ago I accepted an invitation to a Trade Confectionary Exhibition in London. It was a striking object-lesson in dietetic degeneration. I gazed on arrays of bottles, jars and dishes containing "fruit" drinks, jellies, creams, flavourings, substitutes for eggs, butter, milk, etc. and preservatives, and was invited to taste them, being exultantly assured that every exhibit was "synthetic". Here was the triumph of science over Nature with a vengeance!

The drug habit is growing and is becoming a social menace. Under the National Health Service Act alone over 240,000,000 prescriptions are made up annually at a cost of over £50,000,000. The House of Commons was told in July 1953 that of 800 proprietary preparations 650 are put in the category of doubtful value. An article in the *Manchester Guardian* (1-8-'53) entitled "Drugs by the Bedside" stated: "In ten years the number of accidental deaths from poisoning by barbiturate drugs has increased three-fold, and the number of suicide from these drugs has risen even more disturbingly: an overdose of some barbiturate preparation has become the commonest form of suicidal poisoning next to inhaling coal-gas.... A recent survey of N. H. S. prescribing in a given area indicates that up to 10% of all N. H. S. prescriptions may be for barbiturates in one form or another." The article quotes Dr. Thomas N. Morgan in an article in the *Practitioner*. "Until recently it has not been widely recognized that barbiturates produce subjective alterations in mood which may lead to their abuse. Taken in sub-hypnotic doses they produce a feeling of mental relaxation and elation closely similar to that produced by alcohol."

Two doctors replying to this article claimed that pheno-barbitones were necessary amidst the increasing strains of modern life. To remove those strains is one of the arguments for the fundamental revolution advocated in these Papers. That they exist was further proved by Dr. Franklin Bicknell, Vice-Chairman of the Food Education Society who told 200 delegates to the Annual Conference of the National Women Citizens Association, in London, that 10,000,000 aspirin tablets are taken in Britain every day. (Yorks, Post, 14-5-'53).

Several hundred chemical preparations are now in use in Britain to "fortify", "improve" or "preserve" processed foods, and twice as many in the U. S. A.

Thus the chemical cycle is growing. We rarely know what we are eating. I read recently of some fine looking carrots which on analysis were found to contain not a trace of carotine, the vitamin for which the carrot is recommended. Could they, therefore, legitimately be called carrots? Need we wonder that the number of people who are being propped up by drugs and who linger on in the twilight of phenobarbitones is growing?

Another aspect of the decadence is the conversion of animals into food-producing machines by unnatural, pressurized techniques. Poultry, e.g. are increasingly being subjected to batteries and deep litter, artificial heat and light, and food which stimulates the ovaries and makes mating unnecessary. Chicks of good stock are reared in natural conditions, with grass-runs etc., until the egg-laying period commences, when the above-named pressures are applied. Eggs are then produced at a rate which exhausts the birds in one laying season, when they are sold for the table and a fresh start is made with one-day old chicks. As the point of exhaustion approaches, the shells of the eggs become thinner and thinner and the yolks paler and paler until they are scarcely distinguishable from the "whites", and are almost flavourless. The question thus arises: When does an egg cease to be an egg?

Cattle also, in the interest of the big milk yields, are being fed on highly stimulating food, a policy that is being attended by a serious fall in the average number of lactations per cow, the prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease, mastitis and abortion.

Quantitative output in industry and agriculture is resulting in fragmented persons, disintegrated families and communities, also increasing sickness and drug-taking, on the one hand, and in weakening soils, plants and animals, also endless pests and insecticides on the other.

This cash-motivated policy points to the termination of Western civilization on the same broad grounds that so many civilizations of the past have perished.

(Adapted from the author's *The Orchard Lea Papers* No. 11, "Soil, Health and Civilization").

Accursed American Films

One film which was recently exhibited in Poona was advertised as 'the whole blazing story of the tri-state murder mob! They slashed a crime-scar across the map of America!' Another is being described as the 'thrilling story of a mad murderer who killed young brunettes only one after another.'

I cannot command words strong enough to condemn the fellows on the Film Censor Board who certified these films as fit for exhibition in our country, as well as the Union and State Governments which can impose a ban on such films if they wish. I wonder if the hands of the Government are bound because of the wheat loan.

V. G. D.

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HARIJAN

Feb. 6 1954

WHAT DO WE STAND FOR ?

(*By Maganbhai P. Desai*)

Shri Vinoba described the proposed Pak-American Military Aid Alliance as a good thing in disguise, as it has awakened us to probe deep into ourselves and gauge where we are and what we stand for as a nation loving peace and concord with the whole world. The opportunity for introspection thus provided to us must surely be made the best of.

There are some among us who talk of preparing for war by increased armaments and conscription etc. They are surely not the people who can sail the ship of the Nation clear of the shoals of this dangerous P.-A. Military Alliance. Rather they succumb to it. It was to such people that Shri Jawaharlal spoke when he said that, all the money to be spent on military training "will have to be diverted from somewhere and inevitably it would have to be diverted from various economic activities.....Ultimately the strength of a country would depend more upon economic progress....If the country was economically weak, a vast number of people walking about in step would do no good".

But there is another aspect of the question over and above the internal one noted above. It is the international, which is very fundamental and quite relevant. The two great powers, U. S. and U. S. S. R. are waging a relentless cold war at present. The world is watching aghast when it will come to be a real hot war. Therefore the question before all intelligent people and all wise nations of the world is, what then is the remedy ? Should we jump into the fray ? The two great powers wish to tempt and rope in all peoples of the world — small and big — into it. They plan and play the high political game to achieve that. Some nations do succumb to this game. But will that stop the coming fray ? Is that rather not the way of adding more fuel to the fire ? What then is the other way ?

Upto the last world war India was not free. However the question of war came to her in a manner. Under the leadership of Gandhiji she had answered that question by saying that India loved peace and could accept to help the just cause in war by voluntary recruiting and monetary aid ; it will oppose compulsion. Personally, Gandhiji had gone so far as to write to some great statesmen of the world then to wage a non-violent war, in which case he would side with them.

Surely Mr Churchill might have been then a little embarrassed that, the 'naked fakir', a subject of his Empire, should come forward that way ; what difficult position would he create for him or for Mr Truman ? Would he not be himself a world leader instead ?

But this is only a guess. However, at present when U. S. is out to lead the world, it does fear that Pandit Jawaharlal might contest that claim by his independent foreign policy of peace and effective neutrality. This can be easily inferred from prominent American pronouncements. For example, America is taunting Nehru with saying that the Indian leader was out to be the leader of Asia, meaning to insinuate thereby that he cared less for the impending world danger of communism ; and that way it might, if it can, drive India to be in the American bloc.

The question is, is the American way of assuring peace through armed strength kept in readiness against Russia a right one ? Does Russia alone threaten peace ? Does not America err similarly ? Will the division of world forces into two camps ensure it ? The theory of peace through armed strength believes it can. For example, the Prime Minister of Pakistan believes so. So does Bertrand Russel ; and Mr Churchill says that only if the Western democracies mobilize strength enough, can the U.S.S.R. be deterred from an open war. The misfortune of the world is, only a small spark is needed to start the fire of the two arsenals of war, and then might come the tragedy of human massacre and infernal fire let loose on the face of God's good earth.

Thanks to Gandhiji's life and work amongst us, India is not ready to heed to this doctrine of peace through armed strength. It is common knowledge that when two fight, a third is required to intercede. When fire is raging it is necessary to cut out a girdle round it as an insulator against its further spreading. So also, it should be if we wish to stop spreading the war-fire raging in the two blocs of the world today. India has decided that it will take to the brave non-violent way of standing calm and patient in the midst of the battling two. It is a way of peace, as effective and courageous as violent war itself. What India requires to do, therefore, — and urgently — is to prepare for this and decide upon ways and means for such a courageous stand to be fruitful.

When we think of this, we have to take note of one very important matter ; England and America, Russia and China are not out for war for its own sake. They have in view their own choice way of life. America describes its way as of freedom and that of Russia as totalitarian and dictatorial. Russia describes the American way as capitalist and imperialist — against the poor, and its own way as for the poor.

A new word is recently used for the American way, viz., classless capitalism. The Russian way, to describe it similarly, may be called the classless totalitarianism.

Both the blocs draw other peoples to their ways. A veritable tug-of-war is on to take in others to one's respective fold. Therefore when we do not choose to join either side, we do so because we believe in a third way of life of our own, though it must be admitted that we have not clearly formulated it in our own mind. We should avail of this opportunity occasioned by the Pak-American alliance to do this necessary job.

What is our third way ? It is very clear that the two ways noted above, viz. of Russia and America, smack of war, vengeance and arms expenditure, though they talk of peace. They cannot lead to peace and one world.

Secondly, if we look to their economy, America works with its dollar power and Russia with its totalitarian coercive power. Therefore in both cases, economic and political power becomes centralized in the State ; trade and industry, science and learning subserve this paramount law of order there. Hence the citizen gets enmeshed in it and acts as one of a political and military State, and has his whole being accordingly.

If this is not improved, we cannot hope for true peace and humanity. Therefore, if we sincerely desire them — and that is our ideal — then we must consciously try to build our national life accordingly.

Such an independent and free way of life was what Gandhiji said as the one based on the foundation of self-contained village republics. Power must be decentralized so far at least as the primary needs of the villages are concerned. The village Panchayat must be the social and economic and to that extent political unit of our country. Thus it should be the primary institution of our freedom. Only then can the glow of freedom be felt by our massess in the villages.

We should admit that our Constitution as well as our programmes and policies as also their administration do not confirm to the above ideal. We cannot progress in the achievement of a peaceful order without doing it. If we really mean to succeed in the great venture of being a peaceful third force or area in the world, then we should begin to build for a Sarvodaya order based on economic and political power decentralized in favour of our village communities. Otherwise, we will be only following one of the two ways, though not formally joining either bloc. The Pak-American Military Alliance is a warning to us to rise to this realization of our true ideal.

10-1-'54

(From the original in Gujarati)

GANDHIAN TECHNIQUES IN THE MODERN WORLD

By Pyarelal

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GANDHI — THE MAN AND HIS TECHNIQUE *

(*By Pyarelal*)

II

I had my first glimpse of Gandhiji when I was a youngster engaged in my post-graduate studies in early twenties. I had gone to attend the annual session of the Indian National Congress soon after what has come to be known as the massacre of the Jallianwalla Bagh in 1919.

General Dyer had ordered fire to be opened on an unarmed gathering of several thousand, who were trapped in the enclosed space of Jallianwala Bagh, with the General's platoon with rifles barring the only exit. The firing went on till the ammunition was exhausted. From the railway station I proceeded to the house of a friend where I was to stay. I had reached the first landing on the stair case when I found a deputation of Indian national leaders — every one of them a name to conjure with to us youngsters those days — coming up from behind. Gandhiji was among them. They were to meet a gathering of leading businessmen of the city. I felt overwhelmed by the presence of so many revered celebrities. I hid myself behind a door leaf on the landing, as the illustrious company filed past and from my safe retreat followed the conversation that followed. It had been decided by the Congress to acquire the site of the Jallianwalla Bagh and turn it into a national monument in memory of the first martyrs in India's non-violent freedom struggle, but the funds needed for the purpose were not forthcoming. In vain the leaders tried to argue, entreat, coax and cajole the hard-boiled businessmen to loosen their purse-strings. At last Gandhiji spoke. He neither flattered nor worked on their emotion by perfervid appeals. He simply told the businessmen that a solemn resolve having been made by the nation, he would not be a witness to its breach. He would rather sell his Ashram and make up the deficit from the proceeds if they did not come forward and help reach the target. There was a note of urgency in his tone and a sense of finality in his speech which I later learnt to trace to his philosophy of the sanctity of vows and the rigour with which he practised it as a part of his striving not only to seek truth but to live it in full. The rock-like firmness of resolve behind those simple words charged them with a power which the practical-minded businessmen at once understood and the required amount was promised on the spot. The business community, on their part, received their first lesson in the sanctity of national resolves which became the rock-bottom of India's subsequent struggle for freedom.

A battle royal was fought in the Congress session that year over the resolution on the

* Further instalment of the address delivered to the U.S. Educational Foundation, New Delhi. The first part appeared in the previous issue.

constitutional reforms offered by the British Government. In the draft resolution the reforms were described as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing". The group sponsoring it advocated the acceptance of the resolution to prove its inadequacy. "'Whether we like it or not,'" explained the mover, "has been deliberately omitted in the resolution, because it goes without saying that every statute of Parliament will be obeyed in this country. If we are loyal subjects of the British nation" — which we were not — which the mover and his group were not — which no ardent nationalist could be at that time — "every act that is passed by Parliament is binding on us."

Gandhiji objected to the use of the "ambiguous middle". He joined issue with the speaker that a loyal subject must *ipso facto* obey every statute of Parliament, irrespective of the right or wrong of it. "I am here to declare that I shall obey the orders and statutes of the King Emperor only so long as they appeal to my head and heart, but it is no part of my duty to obey any orders or laws against which my conscience rebels. I shall disobey them and take upon me the penalty." If a thing was disappointing, he went on, it had to be rejected outright. If, on the other hand, they accepted it, they should give it a fair trial. He was opposed to acceptance with a "mental reservation". "I shall go across from one end of India to the other and say we shall fail in our culture, we shall fall from our position...if we do not respond to the hand of friendship that is extended to us." And with that he passionately flung down his white cap on the rostrum to plead bare-headed with the opposition. The end was a dramatic eleventh hour compromise. The substance of his amendment was accepted.

Here again it was the power of his ceaseless striving for the ideal of truth in thought, word and deed, on which he had based his life which gave an irresistible power to his words so that the whole dialectical barrage of the opposition was scattered before it like chaff before the wind. The paradoxical thing about it was that, although his was a plea for moderation and compromise, the spirit behind it was of a rebel, more thoroughgoing, and revolutionary, than any that India had known before.

What impressed me even more at that time was his insistence on removal from service while opposing the demand for the impeachment of General Dyer. Napoleonic in its brevity and strength, I can recall that speech of his even now almost word for word. Characterizing the resolution before them as the most important resolution before the house, he told them that the key to their success in the future lay in their hearty acceptance of that resolution; in their hearty acceptance of the truth underlying that resolution and acting up to it. "To the extent that we fail to recognize the eternal truth underlying this resolution we are bound to fail...I agree that there was grave provocation given by the Government. The Government went mad, but our people went mad too. I say, do not return madness with madness, but return madness with sanity, and the situation will be yours."

A few weeks later I went to his residence at Lahore to seek an appointment with him. Martial law trials were then in full swing, and his residence used always to be besieged by the friends and relations of those who were involved in the prosecutions. One such deputation was having conference with him when I reached there. It was considered to be a hopeless case as there was a charge of political murder against the accused. How could anyone dare to recommend for amnesty an accused guilty of political murder those days? The friends and relatives of the accused were in despair. Gandhiji consoled them: "Let me have full facts of the case and a clear confession if your man has done anything wrong. I would like to save even the worst of murderers from the gallows. I have several such in my Ashram as valued co-workers. They have been completely converted to non-violence." Here was something new in the political field, a man of religion tackling political problems from an essentially spiritual angle and opening up a fourth dimensional way through what looked like a granite wall or a ring of steel. There was something in his tone again — a quality of compassion — which excluded nobody, considered nobody, not even the worst criminal as irredeemable or unworthy of forgiveness, a sense of access to some hidden spring of infinite power which recked nothing impossible and before which all barriers must fall if only one took one's stand on truth and justice, which gripped me. The same reservoir of strength which had gushed forth in his plea for forgiveness in respect of General Dyer, now armed him with the confidence that he could successfully plead with the mighty British Government to spare the life of a person charged with political murder.

Obituary

We regret to announce the death of Shri Dastagir Saidu, a twenty-year old handloom weaver of Mudhol. Dastagir and a younger brother were the only living members of their family. Both had been unemployed for some days. They tried to find other work to do but in vain and were on the verge of starvation. This prospect unnerved Dastagir who committed suicide. Before he did so, he wrote out a note detailing the circumstances in which he had been driven to seek such a desperate remedy for his ills. We are indebted to *Sakal* (November 19, 1953) for bringing his pitiful case to our notice.

The hardly noticed death of Dastagir is more significant than that of half a dozen men in high places. Our society and political leaders must answer for it before the Great White Throne.

V. G. D.

WOMAN'S ROLE IN MODERN SOCIETY *

(*By Vinoba*)

Social and political life the world over has all these years been led and moulded by men. It is now time that women enter this field because the way men have done it proves their utter incompetence for this task. They have indeed made a complete mess of it. It has produced within the brief space of thirty years two world wars and the stage is being set for a third one. One of the results of women entering the social and political field and taking the task of educating public opinion into their hands would be to introduce into it the purifying influence of Ahimsa — non-violence and peace which will greatly help the world in warding off the calamity of the war. It is a great responsibility which Destiny has placed on the shoulders of women. But in Bihar I find that not only is there not the slightest awakening in regard to this great fact of our times, but women are not even permitted to go out of doors !

In ancient India it was a usual practice for women to work as equal partners of men in every way ; so much so that a *yajna* was not regarded as having been truly performed unless the wife associated herself with her husband in every detail. She was called *sahadharmacharini* i.e. a partner of her husband in observing *dharma*. This was so at a time when women were not required to shoulder any special responsibility. But the age in which we are living and more so the age which is now dawning on us demands of them the fulfilment of a special responsibility. The society to come will have to organize its life on the basis of Ahimsa. With the discovery of the atom bomb, violence has reached a stage when it has to be abandoned and Ahimsa accepted in its place as the governing principle of human conduct in all its forms.

Women, in view of their inherent qualities of love and capacity for sacrifice, are naturally expected to play a major part in working out this change. Indeed I believe that the reins of power in the society to come will be placed in the hands of women. Women therefore have to prepare themselves for that eventuality. Meanwhile as a first requisite in that direction we must put an immediate end to the present inequality between men and women.

Sarvodaya ideology does not recognize any distinction between men and women in regard to their rights and duties. In the same way, we do not recognize any distinction of high and low between different castes. There we have also got to abolish the distinction between the masters and the servants. The members of the master class yet seem to shrink from this last reform. That is so because they have not grasped its full significance. Let them think over it and they will see that there is nothing in it to be afraid of. They ask : Do you mean that our sons and daughters will also be required to work exactly as those of the labourers ? We say : Yes, and that would be good to them. It will improve their digestion and make them better able to face the difficulties of life.

Those who think they are masters and have a natural right to live in ease and comfort while others work for them are in fact, albeit unknowingly, guilty of trying to arrogate to themselves a position which belongs to God alone. God is the only master ; we are all His servants and workers. I therefore request them to stop thinking of themselves as masters and to become workers like all others so as to make of the society a great brotherhood of men living in peace and happiness.

Work for the good of the society using all your physical and intellectual powers. Society is the best and safest bank. Keep all your wealth with this bank and you can rest assured that it will offer help and protection to you whenever you need it. The Lord says in the Gita that He looks after the needs of the devotees who have fully dedicated themselves for His service.

We thus stand for the abolition of all the differences which make for inequality between the different members of the society ; such as those between men and women, between the rich and the poor, as also between masters and the servants. Not that we dislike all differences. There are natural differences of various kinds between different individuals. For example, the fingers on our hand are not of the same size and strength. But they co-operate with one another. And they are able to co-operate because these differences are set within well-defined limits. They make for variety, but they do not produce inequality. We have to do the same in regard to society. All differences which make for inequality and disharmony have to be abolished.

Lastly, I would warn you against another newly-arisen but quite a formidable factor working for the division of society into warring groups ; I mean the creation of political parties, each with its own ideological egoism. Caste divisions which have done incalculable harm to our society are now in disfavour, but people do not seem to be sufficiently aware of the danger involved in dividing themselves into political parties. We want men who will be above all narrow loyalties and dedicate themselves to the service of humanity irrespective of creed, caste, party or nation.

(From Hindi)

* From a speech at Sinhavada, Darbhanga District on 30-12-'53.

A VISION OF FUTURE INDIA
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SWADESHI AND UNEMPLOYMENT

[The National Executive of the P. S. P. passed the following noteworthy resolution in its meeting at Patna last month.]

The National Executive of the Praja Socialist Party is of the opinion that to combat unemployment the spirit of Swadeshi needs to be revived. The spirit of Swadeshi must reach down to the village. Villages, singly or preferably in groups, should be induced to foster self-sufficiency, so that village crafts and occupations are revived and rural unemployment is materially reduced. Local bodies like Panchayats, Janapads, District Boards and Municipalities should develop local public works and the demand for assistance from higher authorities for employment and development should be based upon concrete proposals for public work including housing for poor and middle class people on a substantial scale. The Employment Exchange need to be improved and strengthened to enable them to function as reliable barometers of unemployment and as the principal lever of channelizing employment.

Fundamentally the problem can be tackled only if the Government move forward to reorganize and rationalize the economy as a whole. Land reforms including redistribution of land, rural co-operatives, State aid to agriculture, reclamation of waste lands, protected markets for small and cottage industries including handloom industry, and a general policy of economic equality and austerity to enable a larger quantum of workers to get work are among the basic reforms needed. To augment domestic investments, banks, insurance companies, mines and foreign trade will have to be owned and operated by the State.

NOTES

M. N. Roy

Shri M. N. Roy passed away a few days back at Dehra Dun, where he lived after his retirement from active work a few years ago. He was a lifelong fighter for India's freedom. Though his way was different from the one that ultimately ended in success, his integrity and love for freedom were unquestionable, which gave him strength to live through a long span of so many years of travail and hardships in foreign lands. He lived and worked, for the most formative part of his life, in the West and in the climate of the Soviet and the Bolshevic doctrines. That perhaps disabled him to see and evaluate the Gandhian philosophy fully. He was a thinker and a learned man. He gave his ideas in his various books which were instrumental in creating a band of admirers in the country through whom he formed a political party which he formally disbanded after the advent of Swaraj. Though he might not have large and tangible achievements to his credit, he will be surely remembered as a political thinker who was not merely academic, but who always remained on the firing line. May he rest in peace.

2-2-'54 **M. P.**

Bhoodan Figures

(Upto 5-1-'54)

S.N.	State	Total land-collection	Number of Gift-deeds
1.	Assam	1,349	
2.	Andhra	10,299	552
3.	Uttar Pradesh	5,00,891	12,463
4.	Orissa	50,783	16,656
5.	Karnatak	1,669	193
6.	Kerala	11,100	1,200
7.	Gujarat	20,845	2,917
8.	Tamilnad	18,538	2,350
9.	Delhi	7,745	243
10.	Punjab	3,584	814
11.	Bengal	452	439
12.	Bihar	13,23,796	1,14,303
13.	Madhya Pradesh	64,346	698
14.	Madhya Bharat	57,649	4,114
15.	Maharashtra	10,380	769
16.	Mysore	2,516	1,084
17.	Rajasthan	2,34,376	926
18.	Vindhya Pradesh	4,087	750
19.	Saurashtra	8,000	
20.	Himachal Pradesh	1,360	54
21.	Hyderabad (Dn.)	73,258	2,847
	Total	24,07,023	1,63,372

Land Distributed:

Uttar Pradesh	27,922
Tamilnad	255
Madhya Pradesh	928
Rajasthan	961
Vindhya Pradesh	125
Hyderabad (Dn.)	10,354

40,545 acres; distributed to 7,559 families.

Sevagram, Wardha

KRISHNARAJ MEHTA
Office Secretary,
A. I. Sarva Seva Sangh

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